tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

1: Lhote--141 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

517 may do this with more or less finesse, but his inspiration will stop there. Only work in leather and wood are definitely the achievement of the Ihaggaren, for they derive from ancient needs and the techniques have been preserved in their hands and not in those of the Enaden.

Social Life

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

Chapter 1

Social Life

842 We are now going to observe the Tuareg in the details of their social life.

Birth. -- When young people are married, it is seldom that the bonds of marriage are not soon strengthened by the birth of a child. [586] It is very bad form for a young couple not to have a child, and sterility of one of the partners is often a cause for divorce.

843 The pregnant Tuareg woman continues to see to the household tasks, surrounded by the respect of her associates.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, the woman has herself taken to her parents' camp, if she is not there already, for she will give birth in her husband's camp only in case of absolute necessity.

A tent is set up where the woman is installed. She is usually assisted by a midwife who massages her belly and makes sure that

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

● 586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanieft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of agri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed.

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵉⵔⴷⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵜⴰⵔⵔⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⴻⵔⵔⵉ ⵉⵏⴻⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ⵉⵏⴻⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⵣⵄⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule.

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines.

Chapter VIII

Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⴻⵍⵍⴻⴼ or "oulouï" ⵓⵍⵓⵢ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⴻⴼ, to divorce),

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing. 586

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry (he was seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/ [581 587]

Chapter IX

Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⴰⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb "ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 837 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get divorced and that some even say no more about it. [586]

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her • [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

583

5 wooden eating bowls (*tirha*, sing. *tarehat*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikassen*, sing. *akus*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*téŕirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tisukalin*, sing. *tesukalt*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*érir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefer*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50×5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabrok*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*ihédan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*aklí*) or a slave-girl (*taklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Rali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp.

602 583 [586]

ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

602

(a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583

(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuk-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East MI

T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors. Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study